James McGuire PAC 219 685-2487 jmcguire@wesleyan.edu Government 157 Wesleyan University Fall 2009

Office Hours: Tues., 1:30-3:30 P.M. or by appointment Class Meetings: MW 11:00 - 12:20 PAC 421

Democracy and Dictatorship: Politics in the Contemporary World

World events in the past two decades have underscored the importance of rethinking age-old questions about democracy: what it means, why it matters, what sorts of institutions can embody it, and what can be done to build, support, and deepen it. This course will explore these issues in light of the experiences of the United States, Sweden, Russia and the former Soviet Union, and Tanzania.

The first part of the course explores what democracy means, where it came from, and why it matters. These reflections provide a basis for analyzing, in the second part of the course, some troubling aspects of democracy in the United States: that many U.S. citizens are poorly informed about politics, lukewarm in their support of freedom of speech and the press, disinclined to exercise their right to vote, and confronted by serious impediments when they do choose to vote. By evaluating the quality of democracy in a country whose political system is well-known to most of us, we prepare ourselves to do the same in less familiar political systems.

The third part of the course examines democracy in "social democratic" Sweden, contrasting it to democracy in the "liberal democratic" United States. Sweden has a parliamentary system, proportional elections, a unicameral legislature, many significant political parties, and an extensive welfare state. The United States has a presidential system, plurality elections, a bicameral legislature, only two significant political parties, and a limited welfare state. Could, and if so should, democracy in the United States look more like democracy in Sweden?

The Soviet Union's transition from communism and one-party rule was one of the twentieth century's most important events. In the fourth part of the course we examine Marxism and Leninism, the ideologies that influenced the Soviet political system; review the historical legacies that have shaped and constrained the decisions of post-transition Russian leaders; and assess the degree to which the current regime in Russia can be characterized as a democracy.

In the fifth part of the course we examine the political system of Tanzania, whose political system was constitutionally limited to a single party from 1965 to 1992. Unlike most other one-party states, however, Tanzania had competitive elections in which legislators were often voted out of office. Was Tanzania a case of one-party democracy? Can democracy exist in a constitutional one-party state? To what extent has Tanzania become more democratic since 1992, when the constitutional ban on opposition parties was lifted?

Course Requirements

The final grade will be based on two 5-6 page papers, two in-class closed-book exams, and class participation (see the file card requirement below).

Summary of Due Dates and Final Grade Weightings

First Paper	Oct. 9 (Fri.)	20%
First Exam	Nov. 2 (Mon.)	20%
Second Paper	Nov. 20 (Fri.)	20%
Second Exam	Dec. 14 (Mon.)	20%
Class Participation		20%

All students must take the examinations, and hand in the research design and term paper, at the date and time indicated on this syllabus. Please do not request a personal exemption from this policy except in the event of a grave medical or family emergency.

Ground Rules

- (1) A single instance of cheating or plagiarism will provide sufficient grounds for a grade of "F" in the entire course, not just on the assignment on which the cheating or plagiarism took place.
- (2) Please do not bring cellular phones, laptop computers, or other potentially disruptive or distracting electronic devices into the classroom.

Papers

- (1) Each paper will be on an assigned topic handed out a week or more in advance of the due date. Papers should be 5-6 pages long.
- (2) No outside reading need be done. The course readings and your general knowledge will be sufficient for you to develop a well-argued answer to the question(s) you are addressing.
- (3) Your grade will be based mostly on the clarity and persuasiveness of your argument and on your ability to support it by addressing, criticizing, and building on points in the assigned reading.
- (4) The paper must contain specific citations, with page numbers, to most (say, two-thirds) of the readings assigned in the pertinent section of the course. Use the "author-date" form of citation (see example below). You need not attach a list of references or bibliography.

Many Americans who state that they support free speech in the abstract are more reluctant to support it in specific situations (McClosky and Brill 1983: 48-58).

- (5) Minimize your use of quotations; use your own words to express what an author is saying.
- (6) Papers must be typewritten or word processed. Make sure your typescript is dark. Keep a copy of your paper before handing it in.
- (7) Papers should be submitted to the adminstrative assistant in the Government Department office by 3:00 PM on the due date. Do not put your paper in the cubbyholes outside the department office, under the instructor's door, etc.

Examinations

The first exam -- closed-book, closed-note -- will be given in the class period on Monday, November 2. It will cover the classes involving Sweden, from October 12 to 28 inclusive. The second exam -- again closed-book, closed-note -- will be given in the class period on Monday, December 14. It will cover the classes on Tanzania, from November 23 to December 9 inclusive.

Class Participation

Class participation means coming to all the classes, on time, and turning in the daily file card (see below). Doing all of the reading carefully and on time is crucial to your grasp of the lectures and to the quality of class discussion. Class participation, which is measured mainly (but not exclusively) by performance on the file cards, normally counts for 20 percent of the final grade, but repeated absences or behavior that disrupts the class (e.g., cell phone, walking out in the middle of the class session) will result in a very low class participation grade that may count for up to 100 percent of the course grade. Please bear this policy in mind when deciding whether to take this course.

File-Card Requirement

- 1. At the beginning of each class (except on days when the research design is due or exams are given) please hand me, in person, a 3.5 x 5 white-colored file card with your name and the date on one side. On the other side of the file card, please include from the day's readings (a) one <u>quotation</u>, noting the author and page number, that you think raises a particularly interesting issue; and (b) one <u>comment</u> on your quotation.
- 2. No file cards will be accepted after 11:05 AM for any reason whatsoever. You may not turn in a file card if you do not attend class. No one may turn in a file card for anyone else. Your quotation and comment should both fit on one side of a single file card. Your writing must be easily legible.
- 3. File cards will not be returned to you, but each will be recorded as satisfactory, good, or excellent according to how carefully and thoughtfully it seems to have been done. At the end of the semester I shall assign each student a class participation grade based heavily, although not entirely, on the file card marks. If you want to know at any time how you are doing on the cards, feel free to contact me.

Obtaining Course Readings

One book is required: Robert Dahl, <u>On Democracy</u> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). It is available at Broad Street Books; print copies are on reserve at Olin. The rest of the readings are on reserve in paper and electronic formats. Two paper copies of each reading are at the reserve desk in Olin. Electronic copies can be accessed by proceeding through the seven steps listed below.

- 1. Go to the library homepage, http://www.wesleyan.edu/libr/.
- 2. Under COURSE RESERVES, click on "E-Res" (red print, halfway down web page)
- 3. Type in your usual Wesleyan username and password, then search for GOVT302
- 4. Click on the Course Number (highlighted in blue)
- 5. Enter the password (I'll reveal it verbally in class) and click "accept"
- 6. The readings are in folders: "Democracy/USA" "Sweden," "Russia," or "Tanzania."
- 7. Open up the folder that contains the reading you're looking for, and click on it.

Summary of Course Schedule

We Sep 9	Introduction to the Course
Mo Sep 14	Conceptualizing Democracy
We Sep 16	Justifying Democracy
Mo Sep 21	The Quality and Conditions of Democracy
We Sep 23	Political Knowledge in the United States
Mo Sep 28	Political Tolerance in the United States
We Sep 30	Voter Enfranchisement and Electoral Procedures in the United States
Mo Oct 5	Voter Turnout: The United States in Comparative Perspective
We Oct 7	Democratizing Democracy in the United States First Paper Due Friday, Oct 9
Mo Oct 12	Sweden's Political Institutions and Party System
We Oct 14	The Welfare State in Sweden and the United States
Mo Oct 19	Social Democracy in Sweden and the United States
We Oct 21	Social Capital in Sweden and the United States
We Oct 28	Gender Quotas for National Legislatures
Mo Nov 2	First Examination
We Nov 4	Marxism
Mo Nov 9	Marxism and Leninism
We Nov 11	Lenin, Russia, and Revolution
Mo Nov 16	Stalinism and the Collapse of Communism
We Nov 18	Russia Since Communism Second Paper Due Friday, Nov 20
Mo Nov 23	Political Authority in Pre-Colonial Tanganyika
Mo Nov 30	Colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar
We Dec 2	Democracy and the One-Party State in Tanzania
Mo Dec 7	Human Rights and the Transition to Multiple Parties in Tanzania
We Dec 9	Contemporary Tanzanian Politics
Mo Dec 14	Second Examination

Topics And Readings

We Sep 9 <u>Introduction to the Course</u>

1. Democracy in Theory

Mo Sep 14 <u>Conceptualizing Democracy</u>

Robert Dahl, On Democracy, 1-43, 83-99.

We Sep 16 <u>Justifying Democracy</u>

Robert Dahl, On Democracy, 44-80.

Amartya Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value." <u>Journal of Democracy</u> 10 No. 3 (July 1999), 3-17.

Mo Sep 21 The Quality and Conditions of Democracy

Carl Cohen, <u>Democracy</u>. New York, NY: The Free Press, 1971, 3-27.

Robert Dahl, On Democracy, 145-188.

2. Democracy in the United States

We Sep 23 Political Knowledge in the United States

Ilya Somin, "When Ignorance Isn't Bliss: How Political Ignorance Threatens Democracy." <u>Policy Analysis</u> No. 525 (September 22, 2004), 1-27.

Mo Sep 28 Political Tolerance in the United States

Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill, "The First Amendment: Freedom of Speech and the Press." From <u>The Dimensions of Tolerance: What Americans Believe About Civil Liberties</u>. New York: Russell Sage, 1983, 32-92.

We Sep 30 <u>Voter Enfranchisement and Electoral Procedures in The United States</u>

André Blais, Louis Massicotte, and Antoine Yoshinaka, "Deciding Who Has the Right to Vote: A Comparative Analysis of Election Laws." <u>Electoral Studies</u> 20 No. 1 (March 2001), 41-62.

Andrew Gumbel, "Election Fraud and the Myths of American Democracy." <u>Social</u> Research 75 No. 4 (Winter 2008), 1109-1134.

Mo Oct 5 <u>Voter Turnout: The United States in Comparative Perspective</u>

David Glass, Peverill Squire, and Raymond Wolfinger, "Voter Turnout: An International Comparison." <u>Public Opinion</u> December/January 1984, 49-55.

Arend Lijphart, "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." <u>American Political Science Review</u> 91 No. 1 (March 1997), 1-14.

We Oct 7 <u>Democratizing Democracy in the United States</u>

Derek Bok, "Engaging Citizens of Modest Means." Chapter 13 in Bok, <u>The Trouble with Government</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 320-345. Caution: Another reading by the same author is assigned for Wednesday, October 14 (this other reading is in the "Sweden" electronic folder).

Richard N. Rosenfeld, "What Democracy? The Case for Abolishing the United States Senate." <u>Harper's Magazine</u>, May 2004, 35-44.

Fri Oct 9 Paper on US Democracy Due

3. Democracy in Sweden

Mo Oct 12 Sweden's Political Institutions and Party System

M. Donald Hancock, "Sweden." In M. Donald Hancock, ed., <u>Politics in Europe</u>, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007), 393-449.

Robert Dahl, On Democracy, 119-141.

We Oct 14 The Welfare State in Sweden and the United States

Henry Milner, <u>Sweden: Social Democracy in Practice</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 1-21, 186-212.

Derek Bok, "Why Working People and the Poor Do Badly." Chapter 7 in Bok, <u>The Trouble with Government</u> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 169-195. Caution: Another reading by the same author was assigned for Wednesday, October 7 (this other reading is in the "Democracy/USA" electronic folder).

Mo Oct 19 Social Democracy in Sweden and the United States

C.T. Husbands, "Editor's Introductory Essay." Introduction to Werner Sombart, Why Is There No Socialism in the United States? (White Plains: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1976), xv-xxxvii. Sombart's book originally published in German in 1906.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Radicalism or Reformism: The Sources of Working Class Politics." <u>American Political Science Review</u> 77 No. 1 (March 1983), 1-18.

We Oct 21 Social Capital in Sweden and the United States

Robert Putnam, "Civic Disengagement in Contemporary America." <u>Government and Opposition</u> 36 No. 2 (Spring 2001), 135-156.

Bo Rothstein, "Social Capital in the Social Democratic Welfare State." <u>Politics and Society</u> 29 No. 2 (June 2001), 207-241.

We Oct 28 Gender Quotas for National Legislatures

Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Freidenvall, "Quotas as a 'Fast Track' to Equal Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia Is No Longer the Model." <u>International Feminist Journal of Politics</u> 7 No. 1 (March 2005), 26-48.

Amy Caiazza, "Does Women's Representation in Elected Office Lead to Women-Friendly Policy?" Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR)
Publication No. I910 (May 2002). http://www.iwpr.org/pdf/I1910.pdf

Mo Nov 2 First Examination

4. Democratization in the Former Soviet Union?

We Nov 4 Marxism

Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844"; "The Communist Manifesto." Both in David McLellan, ed., <u>Karl Marx: Selected Writings</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 75-96, 221-246. First published in 1844 and 1848 respectively.

Mo Nov 9 Marxism and Leninism

- V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?" In V. I. Lenin, <u>Selected Works in Three Volumes</u>. Vol. 1, 141-153 and 207-232 only. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970. First published in 1902.
- V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution." In V. I. Lenin, <u>Selected Works in Three Volumes</u>. Vol. 2, 289-318 and 347-362 only. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970. First published in 1917.

We Nov 11 Lenin, Russia, and Revolution

William Henry Chamberlin, <u>The Russian Revolution</u>, <u>1917-1921</u>, V. 1 (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1965), 1-17. First published in 1935.

Joan DeBardeleben, "The Emergence of the Soviet State." In Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, eds., <u>European Politics in Transition</u>, 2nd ed. (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath, 1992), 513-543.

Mo Nov 16 Stalinism and the Collapse of Communism

"Z" [Martin Malia], "To the Stalin Mausoleum." <u>Dædalus</u> 119 No. 1 (Winter 1990), 295-340.

We Nov 18 Contemporary Russia

Ghia Nodia et al., "Reading Russia," <u>Journal of Democracy</u> 20 No. 2 (April 2009). Please read the 3-5 pp. essays by Ghia Nodia (34-38), Archie Brown (47-51), Leon Aron (66-68), Andre Illarionov (69-72), and Ivan Krastev (73-77).

Fri Nov 20 **Paper on Soviet Authoritarianism Due**

5. Tanzania: Democracy in a One-Party State?

Mo Nov 23 <u>Political Authority in Pre-Colonial Tanganyika</u>

John Iliffe, <u>A Modern History of Tanganyika</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 6-25.

J. Gus Liebenow, <u>Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania: The Case of the Makonde</u> (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 40-71.

Mo Nov 30 <u>Colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar</u>

Rodger Yeager, <u>Tanzania: An African Experiment</u>. 2nd Edition. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989), 5-37.

William E. Smith, "Transition." New Yorker 3 March 1986, 72-83.

We Dec 2 <u>Democracy and the One-Party State in Tanzania</u>

Julius Nyerere, <u>Freedom and Unity</u> (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 103-06, 195-203.

Dean McHenry, "Democracy and Socialism." Chapter 4 in McHenry, <u>Limited Choices: The Political Struggle for Socialism in Tanzania</u>. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994, pp. 47-74.

Mo Dec 7 Human Rights and the Transition to Multiple Parties in Tanzania

Charles Humana, World Human Rights Guide (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 3-10, 350-53, 314-318.

Gøran Hyden, "Top-Down Democratization in Tanzania." <u>Journal of Democracy</u> 10 No. 4 (October 1999), 142-155.

We Dec 9 <u>Contemporary Tanzanian Politics</u>

Athumani J. Liviga, "Tanzania: A Bumpy Road to Consolidated Democracy." <u>East Africa Social Science Research Review</u> 25 No. 1 (January 2009), 1-42.

Mo Dec 14 Second Examination